AN ARGUMENT PROVING,

That the Abrogation of King *James* by the People of *England* from the Regal Throne, and the promotion of the Prince of *Orange*, one of the Royal Family, to the Throne of the Kingdom in his ſtead; was according to the Conſtitution of the Engliſh Government, and *Preſcribed* by it.

In Oppoſition to all the falſe and treacherous Hypotheſes, of Uſurpation, Conqueſt, Deſertion, and of taking the Powers that *Are* upon Content. *J. C.*

By *SAMUEL JOHNSON.*

Nec Deus interſit niſi dignus vindice nodus Inciderit. ——— Horat.

LONDON, Printed for the Author. 1692.

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AN ARGUMENT PROVING,

That the Abrogation of King James by the People of England from the Regal Throne, and the promotion of the Prince of Orange, one of the Royal Family, to the Throne of the Kingdom in his stead; was according to the Constitution of the English Government, and Prudential Right.

In Opposition to all the false and treacherous Hypotheses, of Usurpation, Conquest, Desertion, and of taking the Powers that are upon Content.

BY SAMUEL JOHNSON.

Nec Deus intersit nisi dignus vindici nodus Inciderit. —— Horat.

LONDON, Printed for the Author, 1692.

TO THE COMMONS of *ENGLAND* in Parliament Assembled.

THE favourable Acceptance, which my Bounden Services to my Country, as I ever accounted them, (though they were always difficult and upon the Forlorn) have heretofore found in your Honourable House, hath caused me to bring you this small Offering. In former Days an Appeal to the Parliament was a removal of the Cause from *Whitehall*; but it is our peculiar happiness in this Reign, that we live under a Prince who had no other business here, but to restore the Constitution; which, as his Declaration speaks, was wholly overturned in the former Reigns; and who lay under a happy Necessity of assisting the People to assert their Rights, before he could secure His own Right and Remainder in the Crown.

This Subversion and Overturning of the best Frame of Government in the World was very artificially managed, and began at your House; which has been run down as an Innovation, and no Essential Part of Parliament, a Mushroom sprung up in the 49th of *H.* 3. and founded in Rebellion; as if you had no deeper Root in the Government, than Corn has upon the House top. This scurvy Pedigree of the Commons in Parliament, drawn up by Dr. *Brady*, was so well liked by the Loyal Clergy, and particularly he was so applauded by *Jovian*, that Mr. *Petit* found the Tide so strong against him, as not to venture on a Reply; though to my knowledge he was furnished with a very good one.

But that is not so material, when you began, as what you are: and of the two it is better to be an Upstart Authority than a flat Cypher; and thus you have been represented to all the degrees of Insignificancy. Your Precarious Being was told you by a wonderful Statesman, who did not spare to inform you, *That as the King had Created the House of Commons by his Power, so he would Preserve it by his Goodness*; but then come some of the Clergy and say, what little Creatures both You and the House of Lords are.

Dr. *Hicks* lodges in the King the whole Legislative, or the Power that makes any form of words a Law. He says, "*The Supreme Power may indeed be limited as to the Exercise of this Legislative Power, which may be confined to Bills*" *Jovian.* and *P.* 402.

and Writings prepared by others; but ſtill it is the Soveraign Authority who gives Life and Soul to the dead Letter of them. Now this is ſo contrary to the Conſtitution, as nothing can be more. For not only King *Charles* the Firſt acknowledged that the Laws were *jointly* made by the King, Lords and Commons, (though the Houſes inſiſted upon more) but alſo in every Act of Parliament that is made, it is expreſly ſaid in the Enacting part, that it is made by the Authority of them all: whereas by this Doctrine the two Houſes have only a Miniſterial Office of preparing a Form of Words, and furniſhing Bills and Writings, as the King's Printers uſe to do you with Pen, Ink and Paper: And in ſhort the King alone makes Laws, and the two Houſes only find Stuff.

Now if this ſort of Paradox had been advanced concerning the Pariſh Cheſt of *Barking*, where the Parſon has one Key, and each of the Church Wardens one, they could ſoon have Mathematically ſhewn him, that *his* Key had but one Third of the Cheſt-opening-Power, and ſuch a Miſtake would only have made a Jeſt: But in a Caſe of more Conſequence than all the Land in the Nation, if it were now to be ſold, is worth, ſuch falſe Poſitions are very Dangerous. For if the Legiſlative were once contracted in one ſingle Hand, it were as abſurd to ſay it could be limited in the Exerciſe of it, as it is to ſay that your Houſe has not Power over your own Orders, to recal and alter them as you think fit. What ſhall hinder the whole Legiſlative?

At this rate the ſaying, of which my Lord *Lauderdale* has had the Honour, would have been true, that he hoped to ſee the King's Edicts to be Laws, and above the Laws; for all new Laws are too hard for the old ones. And the Arbitrary Proclamation to forbid the Nation to Petition for a Parliament had been a Law, if the whole Legiſlative Authority was in it: for the L. C. J. *North* found it very eaſie to ſupply the place of both Houſes, in drawing up the Form of Words.

However this is very civil Uſage to what you have had from other Hands; for in this way you have ſtill left you the Honour of being Clerks, and of drawing up a Form of Words. But Dr. *Womack* in his *Short Way to a laſting Settlement*, printed by *Robert Clavel*; the chief Deſign of which was, to out the two Houſes from having any ſhare or *Authoritative Hand*, as he calls it, in making the Laws, and was ſhortly after made a Biſhop for the Service, has this very inſolent Expreſſion: *The Houſe you ſay have a Hand in the Legiſlation: So hath the Beggar in my Alms.* As ſoon as I ſaw this Odious Compariſon: I knew it was falſly applied: for even the Coronation-Oath acknowledges that the Laws of *England* are of the Folks chooſing; and it is certain that Beggars are no Chooſers. But I humbly beſeech both Houſes upon this Occaſion, to have a ſpecial care how they ſuffer this ſort of Men to have the Aſcendant, who treat them in this manner; becauſe we have a very harſh Engliſh Proverb Concerning Beggars.

P. 24.

In the Year of *Jovis* 83. wherein theſe Doctrines were publiſhed and rung all over the Nation, ſome of the Honourable Beggars that were for a

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Bill of Exclusion of the Duke of *York* in the First Session, and were for keeping him out when he was out, after their Lives had been long hunted by these Men, fell into their Nets: Which Bill had given us this happy Reign several Years sooner, and had saved the Lives of more than Hundred thousand Men, whose Blood lies at their Door; but it was then their Hour, and the Power of Darkness. Let that Year be blotted out of Chronology!

These Doctrines I conceive are Destructive to the Nation, because they undermine the Power and Authority of Parliaments, who represent the Nation, and are the Conservers of our Liberties, if we had any; but those are all taken away by another of their new-adopted Church-Doctrines of *Passive-Obedience*, which I therefore look upon as the worst of them, because it lays waste all your Laws, after you have made them, or worded them, or begg'd them, or however you came by them.

The former Doctrines do immediately destroy you only in the Quality of Legislators; but this makes you Slaves too, and will not leave you to be so much as English Freemen. 'You must be just such defenceless 'Wretches under the irresistible Powers of the Soveraign and his Forces, 'as the Roman Slaves were under the Soveraign and Unaccountable Power 'of their Masters. You must be Slaves as to this particular, you must hold 'your Lives and Liberties with your Soveraign's And therefore the *Passive* 'Behaviour taught to St. *Peter* to the Roman Slaves is your 'Duty.' *3 v. P. 242.*

So that if the late Soveraign being enraged at your Addres 17 *Novemb.* 85. which broke all his Measures, had sitting the Parliament sent his Forces to murder you, you ought to have submitted as the Theban Legion did, in which Army of Martyrs you would have made a goodly Regiment. 'You were to have suffered it patiently with your Swords by 'your sides; and *Passive-Obedience* even unto Death had been your Duty, 'both of the Imperial Law, and the Laws of the Gospel.' The Theban Legion would not Sacrifice, and you would not come to, which was a like Case; or rather yours was the more provoking Disobedience to an Arbitrary Prince, and so you were bound in Conscience to fare alike. *P. 200.*

Nay if without any incompliance on your part, he had only had a mind to kill Five hundred Kings at once, as King *James* the First called the Parliament, for so Dr. *Womack* relates it from Dr. *Heylin*, (but whether in way of *Jest*, or otherwise, he cannot tell) the Soveraigns Forces had been Kings of Kings, and Lords of Lords. For the Chaplain of the Theban Legion would have charged you in Christ's Name, by virtue of his own Saying, 'He that useth the Sword, shall perish by the Sword, not to resist 'under the Specious Pretext of Self-defence, (though I think in that Case the Specious pretence had been very much in Earnest) 'And if you had thus sinned against the Laws Imperial, or the People had refused you by force from the Soveraign's Forces, he would have pronounced concern- *P. 23.* *3 v. P. 248.*

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p. 49. ing you both; 'Well, let them do so at their Peril; they may be legally 'Hanged for it in this World, and (without Repentance) will be damn'ed for it in that which is to come.

This is Passive Doctrine to a Title; and as you like it, you may cherish that Party which has enslaved the Nation by it, and to whom it owing all the Oppression of the last Reigns. For if the Doctrine of *Defending our Rights when they were Invaded*, had not been Burnt, Martyr'd and Stigmatiz'd, and the Clergy had not expresly promised King *James* to incultcate Passive Obedience upon all his Subjects, and thereby to bind the Nation Hand and Foot, and to leave nothing but suffering Souls in his whole Kingdom, he would never have ventured to think of Dragooning us, nor have begun with his Preparatory Oppressions in order to it.

But after they had made him believe that they were Passive to the Death, and Loyal to the Death, when the Burden of their own ill-contriv'd Oppression came home to themselves, and touch'd but one of their Fingers, they soon let him understand that they had given him only a Spiritual Kingdom, and not a Kingdom of this World: *For if his Kingdom had been of this World, then would his Servants have fought for him.* But so they Deluded and Parted with their Passive-Obedience-King. For Passive Obedience is calculated only for Tyrrany; suffering under Arbitrary and Illegal Commands and Orders, cannot take place in a Legal Government, neither is there room for any such thing. Till Passive Obedience has either found or made a Tyranny, it can never be a Duty; nor then neither, for Tyranny is not Government, but the Destruction of it.

And therefore the two Histories of Passive Obedience, and the brisk Sermons that have been Preached upon that Subject in this Reign, are Contraband Goods: For we live under a Prince who within these few Years raised the whole *Posse* of *England* against this Doctrine, and by his Declaration *Invited and Required all the People of* England *of all Ranks, to Assist him against the Sovereign and his Forces, to prevent the Nation's being kept under Arbitrary Governments and Slavery.* We were under Arbitrary Government and Slavery then, and we may thank Passive Obedience for it; and I am humbly of Opinion that we ought never to come under it more. And therefore I think it worthy your great Wisdom and Justice, that as *You have entered that Princely Declaration in the Crown, and made the Performance of it a Principal Point in the Confidence and Trust you reposed in the King whom you Invested him.* So you would provide that all those who began, continued and ended that Glorious Expedition under the Prince of *Orange*, (which had been a blew one, if Passive Obedience had been believed, as it was constantly preached for Gospel) may not in this Reign, at least, be represented as Rebels and Traytors, but by some Temporary Act may be Relieved from the Aspersion of Delivering their Country. That one Usurping Priest in his Pulpit may not call for *Pontius Pilate's* Bason of Water to wash his Hands clean from the *Sin* of this Revolution; and another

Conquering

Conquering Priest may not Represent those who Invited it, and Assisted this present King, *as Men not afraid of the Power as they ought to have been*; and another Deserting Priest may not make King *James*'s Forfeiture to be his *going away* which was the Best thing that ever he did; and thereby leave all Men to be Rebels and Traytors who had invited, joined, or were prepared to join the Prince of *Orange* before the 10th of *December* 88. when our Deliverance was compleated.

These wretched Inventions of *Usurpation*, *Conquest* and *Desertion*, were found out meerely to cover the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, and to keep that safe and sound, notwithstanding the Prince and the whole Nation had engag'd in Resisting Oppression, and Defending their Rights. And furthermore, That King *William*'s coming to the Crown might not be enquir'd into, and be found to be the Prejudice of Non-resistance, there is one has likewise found out another Invention, That you are not to trouble your Head, whether the King's Title be right or wrong, but you are to Swear to whatever is Uppermost, whether he be a Rightful Prince or an Usurper; which is the Primitive Doctrine of the Pastoral Letter.

And this is such a Scorn put upon a Free Nation as never was in the World, as if the Subjects of *England* were to engage their Allegiance Blindfold, and were to venture their Lives and Fortunes in behalf of a Title which is to be unsight unseen, at that ridiculous rate as no Countryman will buy a Pig.

Now all these Hypotheses have but these two small Faults in Common to them all.

First, That they Undermine the King's Throne, as if he had no Legal Right to the Crown; And if he has not, what has he to do with it? For my part I will never pay Allegiance to him as an Usurper; he ought rather to be told daily by his Chaplains that are of that mind, that he ought to make Restitution: *It is not Lawful for thee to have thy Father* James *Crown*; or else they are no *St. John Baptists*. A Revelation sent on purpose from Heaven, cannot oblige us to be Subjects to an Usurper under that Notion, because it is a Notion of Wrong, and God himself cannot make Wrong to be Right. And then shall any Wretch bid us in his Name to Swear to be Faithful to acknowledged Wrong, and to be False to acknowledged and unextinguished Right? In short, an Usurped Crown is a Stol'n Crown, it is *Blood's* Crown.

It is true indeed that God can give Kingdoms to whomsoever he will; I know it; He can make them a New World on purpose for them, or take the Forfeiture of the Old, and dispose of his own Creation as he pleases: But then it must appear to his Will, and he must send a New Revelation into the World along with (such a highly Favoured Prince) to every Man that is to be his Subject. For I am not bound to do what God would have me do, till I can certainly know that he would have me do it. Promulgation is of the Essence of a Law.

And this Extraordinary Revelation ought to be as clear and as distinct as *Abrahams* was for the Sacrificing his Son: for it is as contrary to all the setled Rules of Right to dethrone a rightful King as it is to destroy an only Son. And yet that Command was only intended for a tryal of *Abrahams* Obedience; neither would God suffer it, that there should be a Precedent of an Humane Sacrifice in the World, though at his own bidding. Is it not enough for an Usurper to wrong a Prince of his Crown, but this must be Hallowed by false Prophets, and said to be done in Gods Name: And this proved by no better Argument than *Mahomet's* Miracle of Success and Settlement?

If therefore a pretended Prophet tells me that I am to own an Usurper as God's Choice, and by Divine Right, and therefore he is no Usurper. I must needs Answer that the Title is far fetch't, and comes a great way, and therefore I must desire to see some proof in point, and shall always call for Miracles for what is said to come from Heaven. And if I had but one half of the Sense which God has given me I should never be satisfied with the Mahometan Miracle of Success and Settlement. That Impostors Come-off, when he was call'd upon for Miracles, was this: That God had sent *Moses* his first Prophet with Miracles; and when the belief of them was worn out, and the Jews were degenerated, he sent Jesus the Son of *Mary* with more Miracles which did good for a time; but his Followers likewise degenerated and alter'd their Books: And then he sent *Mahomet* his last Prophet, not with Miracles which had failed and miscarried twice before, but with the Mouth of the Sword. You ask for a Miracle, says he: Did not we Sack the City *Tauris* the other day, and put them all to the Sword? There's a Miracle for you.

I confess I have loved a Good Cause in my time better than my Life, but never a crumb the better for Success; But on the other hand, the want of Success has made it the dearer to me. Success is the new Weathercock upon the Banqueting-house at *White-hall*: for when the Popish Priests saw the Wind Westerly, then it was *Deus pro nobis*; but when at last it stood Easterly to bring over the Prince of *Orange*, then it was *Deus contra nos*; And so God is made to be of all Sides at that rate.

What if this Settlement should be Unsetled, (which God of his Mercy defend) as I am bold to say it cannot stand upon King *James's* Rubbish, no more than a new Pile of Building upon the Heaps which lay in the stone Gallery. Well, what then? Why then in that supposed Case, though the Wind be against us, will I venture a weatherbeaten Life for his Majesties Service; but not an Hair of my Head, if I can help it, for several Ministers he has.

In short, Usurpation is of the Devil; and at the rate that any Man alive shall prove by the Old standing Revelation we have, that an Usurper is a King by Divine Right, will I prove that the French and Irish Massacres were by Divine Right, and that every one of those three hundred and fifty thousand Souls which fell therein were well killed, and that it was the

Lord's

Lord's doing, For there is as plain and as legible Scripture. *1 Sam.* 2. 6. *The Lord Killeth and maketh alive*, to entitle him to that bloody Business as there is to make him the setter up of Divine Usurpers.

Conquest is likewise another wicked False Title to unsettle the Throne. This the Prince of *Orange* disclaimed with detestation in his Additional Declaration, *as the Horridest Calumny that could be invented against him, and so Unnatural a thing for an English man to join in, as if it had been to be Fels de se.*

If this Pretention had been set up when the Prince of *Orange* came, he had never march'd forty Miles in *England*, though he had come five times stronger than he did: And that which would infallibly have Barr'd him out of *England* then, can never settle him in it now; no not though it were Preach't from the Clouds, as it only is from the Pulpit, which they have rendred by such means very insignificant. For what is Conquest? why truly it is a Publick Enemy got within us. It is the King of *France*, not at *Tyngmouth*, but at *White-Hall*. A Conqueror is one, whom no after Treaties nor Consent can ever make a King; for he must have the Consent of Slaves and Minors, who have nothing to give: who cannot make a Will though it were their last; who cannot be parties to a Contract; for that is everlastingly impossible, unless Men be *sui Juris*, and their own Men at the same time. In a word, Conquest may perhaps extend to lawful Plunder, and to Goods and Chattels, which I never took the People of a Free Nation to be: But if such a Prize-Office-Divinity must needs be set up, that always supposes the Right of Reprizals.

Desertion is manifestly False: for King *James* must needs go; he was as much driven from *England*, as *Nebuchadnezzar* was driven to Grass; and he Claimed as he fled, by the *Rochester* Letter. And as for the Wonderful Mystery of dropping the Great Seal in the *Thames*, if it was done purposely, there was a very Wise Reason for it. For if it had fallen into other hands, the Broad Seal of *England* might have been immediately employed in Proclamations and otherwise against himself: As Queen *Elizabeth* made use of Queen *Mary's* Great Seal for a good while; which the Bishop of *Lincoln*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in King *James* the First's time, allured us was so, in his Answer to Dr. *Cole*. Now to establish the Throne upon a Notorious Untruth, is to establish it upon Mr. *Milton's Vacuum*, where it must fall ten thousand thousand Fathom deep, and know no end of falling.

The last Doctrine, that we are to be subject to the Powers that *Are*, or any thing that is Uppermost, is at the first sight so wretched a Foundation of our Allegiance, that I scorn to confute it. For whereas a Rightful Title is as immoveable as the Pillars of the Earth, on the other hand, upon this Supposition, that Obedience is only due to the present prevailing Power, it is but shifting the Guards, and in an instant all the Peoples Allegiance bids their King Good-night.

Secondly, All these Hypotheses, besides their Undermining the King's Throne, as if he had no Rightful Title to it have another Fault in them, that they leave nothing of Liberty or Property in the Nation.

This Revolution had almost stunned the Hierarchy, and was so cross to their Pulpit Doctrines of Passive Obedience, Unalterable Succession, Indefeasableness, and Unaccountableness of Princes, and the rest of their Jargon, That it was very much feared by some of their Disciples, that they would not comply nor Swear to this Government, and so must leave their places, and that thereupon there would be a Famine of the Word. But there would be no miss of their Preaching to the Worlds End, if it were such as is before us. So long as People have a Bible, they had better be without their false Glosses upon it: which the People of *England* have more reason to hate, than King *James* had the *Geneva* Notes, printed in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Bibles; for which reason he forbade all Marginal Notes upon his Translation of the Bible. In the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, his Censure of those Notes is this, *That they were very Partial, Untrue, and savouring too much of Dangerous and Traiterous Conceits. As for Example*, Exod. 1. 19. *where the Marginal Note alloweth Disobedience unto Kings*, &c. But I think the Text allowed it before, ver. 17. *But the Midwives feared God, and did not as the King of* Egypt *Commanded them, but saved the Men-Children alive.* Was ever such an Exception taken against express Scripture? And yet because of his Unsensical Apothegm, *No Bishop, no King*, repeated over and over again in that Conference; and that *Ecclesiasticus* was a Bishop, for which Reason the *Puritans* were against that piece of *Apocrypha* being read in Churches, and such like Clawing of the Clergy, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* said, *That undoubtedly his Majesty spake by the special Assistance of God's Spirit.* So easy is it for those that call themselves the *Church*, to make Men Inspired, and Saints and Martyrs when they please. P. 47.

Upon the Prince of *Orange*'s *Invasion*, and all Honest Mens *Rebellion*, as that party do and must term it, they could not for their Lives make both Ends meet: and because they could not make their slavish Doctrine of Passive Obedience agree with the Revolution, they have endeavoured to bring back the Revolution to them, and to reinstate us just in the Condition we were in five Years ago. It's no matter for the Church of *Rome*'s Infallibility, Impenitency will serve their Turn as well; and if they never repent, they have never err'd.

Hereupon, while I was a poor Prisoner, and the Eldest of all those that lay upon a publick Account in *England*, (though I thought that a Thanksgiving Deliverance from Popery and Slavery, would have reached me in the first place by Seniority; but as I was saying, while I was a Prisoner, and before it pleased God that my Liberty fell in my Lap, to which I was born, and which I threw away with both Hands, and with my Eyes open, for my Country's Service, some Years before it was taken away from me)

me) was I sollicited to write upon the Desertion, in Answer to King *James*'s Claiming Letter at *Rochester*.

I challenge the piece of Prelacy, who would have put me upon that Job of under journey Work, to Print the Letter which I wrote the next Morning upon that Occasion, and to Answer it if he can. In short, I shewed that by the Law of *England* no Advantage could be taken of a King's withdrawing himself from the Government (if it had been Voluntary, as all the World knows it was not) without a Summons sent after him to Return again in forty Days; and yet I guess the same Person had the confidence afterwards to write upon the Desertion, and to found this Government upon it. But I then in those early Days foresaw, that their Design was to begin where the attoning passive flag-end of the Lyon and Unicorn Sermon left off; and that they intended to enslave the Nation over again, with the only alteration of the Name of *James* into *William*. Their Intent was, that all things should run in the late Arbitrary Channel: For which Reason the very mention of King *James*'s Forfeiting his Remainder in the Crown, by Unqualifying himself for it before he had it, and of his Abdicating the Crown when he had it, by breaking the Fundamental Contract, and by his Tyranny and Subvertion of the Laws, was Ratsbane to these Men, and would have hurt their Passive Doctrine: And therefore there was need of Slight of hand, to give a new Turn to the Peoples Delivering themselves, and to call it King *James*'s own Desertion.

Well then, according to this Hypothesis of Desertion, till a King runs away of his own accord, which was not true in the last Instance, nor ever will be to the end of the World, the People of *England* have no Remedy against Oppression, nor can ever be rid of a Tyrant; which makes Ours and our Posterities Case worse than it was in King *James* Time: For once in a hundred Years there may fall out some Unhappy Occasion to Assert the English Liberties, which never yet were so stinted, as to lie at the Mercy of so Unlikely a Case as a Princes own Desertion. We had better been without our present happy Deliverance, than have it upon those Terms; for that would be selling a perpetual Estate of Inheritance for one Year's Purchase. For though we have a good Prince at present, yet there may arise such another *Pharaoh* as knew not *Joseph*.

But no doubt the Flattering Sir Politick foresaw, that if one Prince might forfeit for his Arbitrary Government, another might, and this would be no agreeable Court Doctrine. Yes verily it is even so: For whoever acts King *James*'s Part, ought to have King *James*'s Fate, only I wish it him Earlier. And I so far rely upon the Integrity and Sincerity of His Majesties Publick Declaration, that a Signal Deliverance was the least part of his Care; but his main End was, *to secure the Nation from Relapsing into the Miseries of Arbitrary Government any more*. So that if we should Relapse into the Miseries of Arbitrary Government (which I will never suppose in

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in his time). Himself being Judge, we shall then want a new Revolution, as much as we did his.

But there are some Men so secure, now Popery is gone, though in great part it is where it was (and that for such a wise Reason as never was in the World, because our Allies are Papists; whereas all the Papists here are French Papists, and intirely that Interest) but because Popery is gone, they have no Apprehensions of Slavery. Whereas Slavery is Popery, Mahometanism, Paganism, Atheism, or any thing that the Prince pleases. For a Slave is a Dog that must leap over a Stick, and leap back again at his Masters bidding.

Desertion was *Discussed*, whereby the Cause was puzzeld, and then there was need of a new Contrivance, and so Conquest was started; and it was asserted in the Pastoral Letter, that the King had a Right to the Crown by Conquest, and that it was a great Condescension to receive it at the Hands of the People. This raised two Bishops more to pitch upon Conquest to be the stronger Hypothesis of the two; the one of which answered poor *Ashton's* Speech, and the other has given us but one Third of his Sermon, which has been about two Years in moddeling. I called him poor *Ashton*, because I heartily pitied his Death. For he acted in pursuance of those Principles which his Answerer, to my Knowledg, has publickly Preach'd above these twenty Years, and which were Church of *England*-Doctrine, or else they had none during that time. I know their Doctrine was false, and the Men false, and that they would never be Martyrs for it: But they have an excellent hand at Martyr-making; and when they have brought Men to the Gallows, they leave them in the lurch, after the same manner as they report the Divil does a Witch. But then they need not write against them.

P. 26. The Answerers Argument is, That we ought to swear Allegiance to the Conqueror, for so they do in the new French Conquests; *and the Right of War here is the same as it is abroad.*

We thank him for his Love as much as if we did; but we will never submit to be in the Condition of *Mons* and *Namur*, till we are taken by Storm: And if by his saying, that the Right of War Here is the same as Abroad, he means that we are the New Dutch Conquests (as the words are capable of no other meaning) I will never trouble my Head with that Matter; for whenever Foreigners pretend to be Lord Danes here in *England*, I will leave that Controversy to our Wives who can best decide it.

Behold, thrice Honourable and thrice Sage Representatives of your Country, what is become of your English Rights? You are by this Doctrine a Subdued Nation, and a Foreign Conquest; and then I am sure that all the boasted *English* Liberties amount to no more than this, that our Thoughts are free, and your Post-letters Frank.

Another Conquering Bishop that heretofore helped to spoil the Prince of *Orange's* First Declaration, and to put a full stop to his Expedition by

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the proffered Advice which the Bishops gave King *James*, to Palliate our Grievances, and to have cheated the Nation the most effectually that could be, has lately done as much for the Second Declaration, and has endeavoured to render it the falsest Paper in the World. With your leave and patience I will make out my story.

When the Prince of *Orange* had made his Preparations, and our Court was sensible of it, there was means made to draw several Noblemen to Court to make their Complement to King *James*; which was to make a Shew to the World, by the help of the *Gazette*, that the most disobliged Peers were wholly in King *James*'s Interest. Accordingly the Bishops who made themselves Popular, by refusing the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, and by beginning to quote Law when it came to excusing themselves from digging their own Graves, were likewise sent for to Court. When the Summoned Bishops came to the King, *September* 28. the Arch-Bishop being then not Well, there passed nothing but Acknowledgements of Duty and Loyalty on their Side, and gracious Promises of Favour and Protection from their King. This surprized these over-weening Persons, who thought they had been sent for to Advise the King in these difficult Affairs. Hereupon they repaired to the Arch-Bishop, who waited upon the King, *September* 30. with a proffer of their Advice; Which he was ready to accept, and had it three Days after in Eleven Articles, which have been several times Printed and Boasted of.

As soon as ever I saw them, I plainly perceived that they were all of them deceitful and Mountebank Remedies: and being urged for my Opinion of them, I gave my Thought very freely concerning them, and the rather, because they were said to be very much applauded abroad. I said that I was sure the King would comply with them, but not all at once; but he would make his Concessions so, as to garnish the *Gazette* with them twice a week, and to amuse the People with a Succession of Favours, as if there were to be no end of them. That these Grievances being thus Redressed, there would be no need of the Prince of *Orange*'s Expedition; to take care of that which was already done to his Hand; and he may even stay on the other Side where he was. That these Concessions would stand till the King had recovered his Fright, and then all things would return into the old Channel: for by this Advice he would put nothing out of his reach; and by fresh *Quo Warrantos* he would fetch back the Charters in a few Terms, and every thing else in a less time. But if he should make any shew of being reconciled to the Protestant Religion, which was the last part of their Mischievous Advice, it would very much impose upon the Nation, though it may make for the Interest of the Adviters. For the Advice was selfish I plainly saw, and all over. *Church* and the Ecclesiastical Commission, Dispensations, the two *Magdalen* Colleges, Jesuits Schools, the four Apostolick Vicars which carried the Grist from their Mill, and not filling the Vacant Sees, particularly that of *York*, was the burden of their Complaint.

Where-

Whereupon I could not forbear saying that if the Inkeepers of *England* had been Bishops, and all the Bishops Inkeepers for several Years past, then they would have thought a Standing *Army* a Grievance, which was not so much as mentioned in this *Advice*, and which would at any time retrieve all the former Concessions. *I* said therefore, I was afraid they did not mean Honestly, but intended to forestal our expected Deliverance, and to intercept the Prince's Voiage: but if they meant in favour of the Prince's coming, their proffered Politicks would not qualifie them to be Statesmen. But I much more questioned their Honesty than their Understanding, and therefore was sorry to see so Generous a Design as the Prince's was, to be Unblest by Bishops, and puzzled by a little Priest-Craft.

The thing was taken right at the *Hague*. But the first Declaration being thus spoiled, it gave the Prince the trouble of an *Additional Declaration*; partly to expose and lay open the Fraud of these pretended Remedies, and partly to meet with a dangerous Suggestion which was then started, of his intending a Conquest.

His excellent Words concerning the last are these: 'We are confident 'that no Persons can have such hard Thoughts of us, as to imagine that we 'have any other Design in this undertaking, than to procure a Settlement 'of the Religion, and of the Liberties and Properties of the Subjects upon 'so sure a Foundation, that there may be no danger of the Nations Relapsing into the like Miseries at any time hereafter. And as the Forces we have 'brought along with us, are utterly disproportioned to that wicked Design 'of Conquering the Nation, if we were capable of intending it; So the 'great numbers of the Principal Nobility and Gentry, that are Men of eminent Quality and Estates, and Persons of known Integrity and Zeal, 'both for the Religion and Government of *England*; many of them being also distinguished by their Constant Fidelity to the Crown, who do 'both accompany Us in this Expedition, and have earnestly sollicited Us 'to it, will cover Us from all such Malicious Insinuations. For it is not 'to be imagined, that either those that have invited Us, or those that are 'already come to Assist us, can joyn in a Wicked Attempt of Conquest, 'to make void their own Lawful Titles to their Honour, Estates, and 'Interests.

Conquering and *Enslaving* the Nation, which are equivalent Words, and both put together in this Declaration, was so wicked a Design, that his Majesty was not capable of Intending it, and disclaims it with Abhorrence. How then come his Priests to tell him, and the whole Nation besides, that this is *God's way of disposing Kingdoms*, and that in this Divine way he came by his Kingdom, and holds it by that Tenure. Is not this, as I said, spoiling the Second Declaration?

But I will joyn Issue with this Conquering Bishop; for I have not been afraid of a Conqueror these eighteen Years. For so long I used to walk by the *New Exchange* Gate, where stood an overgrown Porter with his

Gown

Gown and Staff, which gave him a Semblance of Authority; whose business it was to regulate the Coachmen before the Entrance; and would make nothing of lifting a Coachman off his Box, and beating him, and throwing him into his Box again. I have several times look'd up at this tall Mastering Fellow, and put the Case; Suppose this Conqueror should take me up under his Arm like a Gizzard, and run away with me; am I his Subject? No, thought I, I am my own Man, and not his: And having thus invaded me, If I could not otherwise rescue my self from him, I would smite him under the fifth Rib. From that time I have had a clear Idea of Conquest, and no Conquerour in the World, with all his Power, can have any more right to me then that Fellow.

Yes, says the Bishop, but though the Porter had no clear Right to you by being Soveraign of the *Exchange* Gate, and Conquering you, *yet he had you in Possession. And therefore according to the Common saying, which is most true in this Case, he had Eleven points of the Law.*

Now, I say, give me but the one Point of Right, and I will dispute the Eleven Points of Possession with any Man whatsoever; and do no more minde them, than all the variable Points of Divinity-Compass. But did ever any Man in a Pulpit talk in behalf of the Eleven Points of Law, and maintain Wrong against Right? Why does he not quote another common Saying, which is most true in the same Case. That Right and Wrong is nothing but Weak and Strong. Such Men by God's Judgment are left us in the World to Unteach us the Difference of Good and Evil.

But the Man is quite out of his Story, and must begin again. For Conquest, even in his Notion, is justling a Man out of his Seat, and sitting down in his Place; and this is done in an Instant, as one Nail drives out another. But is quite contrary to the Matter of Fact in relation to our two Kings. For King *William* was not King upon King *James*'s first Flight, nor upon his second Flight, nor during the long Vacancy, which was no fault of mine that it was not shortned, nor till such time as Our People made him King. And we have an Act of Parliament in this Reign, which declares the Realm of *England* to have been Soveraign during that time, by ordering all Indictments, from the time of King *James*'s withdrawing till the 13th of *Feb.* to run in their Name. And he that was not King till the 13*th* of *Feb.* could not have been so then, if his *English* Friends had not made him so.

By the Doctrine of an *Usurper* set up by God, you have nothing left you: For a Kingdom of Gods giving is *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Kingdom; *Dan.* 5. 18, 19. *Whom he would he slew, and whom he would he kept alive, and whom he would he set up, and whom he would he put down.* So that it is the World's End with any or all of you, whenever the Court sends for your Lives, Liberties, or Estates. Such an *Usurper* is a God upon Earth, which it is easie for some sort of Men to make. For so *Caliban* made *Stephano* his God,

and offered to lick his Foot; but it was for what he could get by him: And therefore it was *Thucid*'s Opinion, and it is also mine. That if his God were asleep, he would rob his Bottle.

Who shall set bounds to a Divine Authority? he himself that has it from God, cannot part with an Inch of it; much less can that Herd, which they call the People, either limit or dispute it. His part is to Command, and theirs to Obey without Reserve. Humane Laws are Sacrilegious waste Paper, where there is a God amongst them, and a Nation is wholly at Discretion. No, say they, he is Accountable to God. What is that to us? We may be destroyed or laid in gore Blood for all that. Is not the French King accountable to God? And yet what Reparation is that to the many millions of Souls which he has destroyed, or what Remedy against the Distruction of as many more? I hate that Phrase, for the English Law has provided better than to make their King *only accountable to God*; there's always Mischief in that Saying. I know a Kingdom where an Arbitrary King had Excercised his People with intollerable Oppressions for above twelve Years together by his own Confession, and after that engaged them in a Bloody War; and after some respite, but before their wounds were well healed; though he were a Prisoner himself, he caused a new War to break loose upon them, and was wholly secure, because he insisted mightily upon it that he was Accountable only to God: Whereupon, though with a Regret of a great part of the Nation, they sent him to God to give an Account. For which Reason I cannot abide that Saying, *of being Accountable only to God.*

In the mean time the *Mishpat Hamelek*, and the Right of an Arbitrary and Despotick King is revived by this Doctrine; and the thing which are *Cæsar's*, according to their former false Glosses, is every thing that is not preingaged to God, which we all know is the Church's Portion. So that the Church and *Cæsar* divide the World betwixt them. Or as Dr. *Ball* used to lisp it out in his Court Sermons, Lives and Estates, Wives and Children, all things were *Thethar's*: all we had was *Thethar's*, and therefore we were to render it to *Thethar*. But I suppose no able Lawyer in either Temple, of which he was Master, was ever able to understand this blasse Divinity.

It is true, the Scripture calls Princes, *Gods*, and that is enough for Court Parasites; for when they have got such a Scripture-Metaphor by the end, how have I seen them ride on the Ridg of it! Then *Subjects withdrawing their Obedience from their Lawful Prince, is a denying Gods Authority; Treason against him is a kind of Sacrilidge; a Revolt from him, an Apostacy from God; a Resisting him; an opposing God; rebelling against him, fighting with God; the setting up the Title of a Counterfeit Prince against the true One, an introducing a Plurality of God-heads; the obeying of an Usurper, Idolatry, the slandering his Anointed, and his Footsteps, a blaspheming God; the blaming his Conduct, a quarrelling with Providence.*

Dr. Fitz-Williams Thanksgiving Sermon for the Murder of my Lord Russel, &c.

I have said, ye are Gods, is divulged Scripture, and every Body has heard it aloud an hundred times; but there is a neglected Text of Scripture as full of Inspiration as that, which never used to be quoted; *Prov.* 28. 15. *A roaring Lyon and a ranging Bear is a wicked Ruler over the poor People.* Here are two Metaphors for their one; and if any body were disposed to follow the way of their former Descant, it must run thus upon this Text. A Lion is a Beast of Prey, seeking whom he may devour, therefore give him no Law; destroy all his Jackalls; deliver the Prey out of his Teeth, and wear his Spoils as *Hercules* did. A ranging Bear will kill you if you do not kill him; therefore destroy all his Cubs, for they will be Bears in time; set a Price upon their Heads, and let the Church-wardens pay it.

This Text is so lively a Picture of a bad Prince, that the Messieurs of the Port Royal are amazed at it, and say thus in their Annotations upon it: *Il n'appartient qu'a Dieu de dire des Veritez si etonnantes.* It belongs to no body but God to say such astonishing Truths. But he is so good an Authority, that any body may safely say such astonishing Truths after him.

Now an hungry ranging Bear cannot possibly be a God; and therefore when *David* calls Princes Gods, he meant good Princes, Benefactors to Mankind, and not his Son *Solomon*'s Bears, who cannot be called Gods, no not by a Figure. And this Distinction is so natural, that it became Proverbial in several of the Learned Languages, *Homo Homini Deus, & Homo Homini Lupus.* One Man is a God to another, and one Man is a Wolf to another. And so far as Princes resemble God himself in Justice and Goodness, let them wear the Psalmists Titular Honour of Gods, and good Luck may they have with it; but when they degenerate into *Solomon*'s Beasts of Prey, it would be so harsh a Figure to call them Gods, that no Language upon Earth can bear it, unless it be that Figure whereby they use to call things in Scorn.

And yet our false Pulpits used to treat the Bears as if they had been Divinities, when they had just been sucking the best Blood in the Nation; and when they had had more Carnage in half a Year's time, than Popish Queen *Mary* had in her whole Reign.

But if there be no difference betwixt a Good Prince and a Bad, why did the Nation, a great number of them, with the apparent hazzard of their Lives, give themselves the Trouble and Charge of this present Exchange? King *James* would have served their turn as well.

How came the Prince of *Orange* so generously to undertake his Expedition, but to rescue us out of the Paw of the Bear? If we had been under a God, there had been nothing amiss, and there had been no cause with Force and Arms to have sent him a travelling, where he is, to the Head Quarters of Tyranny. But the worried People of *England* Invited the Prince, and the Prince assisted the worried People of *England*, who at last laid their Hands on their Swords, and were unanimously bent to join him against all their Oppressors: And so we came by our Deliverance.

The People of *England* if they had not been enflaved by the base Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience, might very eaſily have done their own Work themſelves, for whom it was moſt Proper; for his Majeſty acknowledges in his Additional Declaration, *That his Preparations were to Aſſiſt the People againſt the Subverters of their Religion and Laws.* So that it was their Work principally, to which they invited his Aſſiſtance, and prayed him in Aid.

And on the other hand his Words were theſe. ' *We do Invite and Require all Perſons whatſoever, all the Peers of the Realm, Spiritual and Temporal, all Lord Lieutenants, Deputy Lieutenants, and all Gentlemen, Citizens, and other Commons of all Ranks, to come and Aſſiſt Us in order to the executing this our Deſign, againſt all ſuch as ſhall endeavour to oppoſe Us, that ſo we may prevent all thoſe Miſeries which muſt needs fall upon the Nation, being kept under Arbitrary Government and Slavery, and that all the Violences and Diſorders which have Overturned the whole Conſtitution of the Engliſh Government, may be fully Redreſſed in a Free and Legal Parliament.*

This Invitation ſounded the beſt to me of any that came ſince the Goſpel came; but according to the Paſſive-Obedience Men, it was a Call to Hell, and to dip the Nation one and all into Damnation: for he that reſiſteth, ſhall receive to himſelf Damnation. If the Prince had directed this Invitation to them, he had ſpoken to Stocks and Stones that could not ſtir: nay, they could not poſſibly be Neutral, for by their forward treacherous Loyalty they had ſtaked down their Lives and Fortunes on the other Side long before; and by their Principles were as Dangerous to him as ſo many *Grandvalls*. So that it was only the brave and ſound part of the Nation, that was not tainted with the Poyſon of Paſſive Obedience, which Aſſiſted his Majeſty in his Arrival to *Whitehall*, and afterwards in his Acceſs to the Throne, or elſe he had never come there. There was not an honeſt Man in *England* capable of joyning the Prince, but he that thought it his Right to defend his Right; which was always the ſtanding Engliſh Principle, kept alive in the late Tyranny it ſelf, though to the continual hazard of a Perſons Life that I know.

'Tis true, there are Men of no Principle at all, that have ſince made ſufficient Earnings of this Revolution; who being Obnoxious, and out of Service in the laſt Reign, were willing to try their Chance in this, in order to their laſt Reſort, which is the next. But I look upon ſuch pretended Stateſmen as Soldiers of Fortune, who would ſerve King *James* one day, and King *William* the next, and the French King once over again the third, and would be very glad to be Vifier the day following. And therefore there is no relying upon ſuch Men, nor employing them neither; for being hated by the People, they are a Dead-weight to that Government which endeavours to ſupport them.

But my Soul abhors above all, thoſe that obſtructed his preſent Majeſties Acceſſion to the Crown as far as they could for their Lives, whereby they loſt *Ireland*, and involved this Kingdom in Blood and Miſery ever ſince;

ſince; and when the Nation had gained the Point, and placed the King in the Throne, could creepingly come off with this Excuſe, That though they could not tell how to make a King, yet they knew how to obey a King; and have ever ſince vouchſafed to take his Money in Places of the greateſt Truſt and Profit. But I am ſure that thoſe that did not know how to make him King, that is, to give a Vote for his being ſo, do not know how to ſerve him Faithfully; for they muſt of neceſſity believe him ill Made, unleſs they have quite and clean altered their mind ſince, which cannot Poſſibly be Diſcovered by their Management of his Majeſty's Affairs

The ſame may be ſaid concerning thoſe of the Clergy, who to hold their great Preferments, and to graſp greater, have taken the ſlippery Oaths of Allegiance which the Paſtoral Letter buttered for them; and who have thriven by their miſchievous Principles that ruined the Nation, and are ſo far from being retracted, that they are very often repeated; which are as Contrary and Irreconcileable to this Revolution, as Darkneſs is to Light.

But perhaps it is Merit to ruine a Nation, and to give an Occaſion for a gainful Revolution.

The laſt Hypotheſis of Submitting to Titles without examining them, and taking the Powers that *Are* upon Content, is Paſſive-Obedience in the firſt Inſtance: for you muſt never after queſtion any thing that proceeds from them, but take all things in good part, without ſo much as ſhrugging your Shouldiers. This Author has been among the Quietiſts, and it is a great Principle of *Molinus*, that you muſt go often to Maſs, and inure your ſelves to take a Wafer for a Man, and thereby learn to Mortifie your Senſes. But becauſe we are Men before we are Chriſtians, and it is impoſſible to be otherwiſe, I will ſooner Mortifie my Senſes in the way of Tranſubſtantiation, than in the way of Paſſive-Obedience.

Your Honours muſt needs be ſenſible, that I have Written with ſome eagerneſs againſt Paſſive-Obedience; but *I* gave you ſuch a Samplar of that Doctrine in the beginning of this Humble Addreſs, as will juſtifie the utmoſt ſharpneſs of Expreſſion, and will anſwer for me in treating the Preachers of as Publick Enemies; and ſo I have treated them, and not as mine. Though it is very hard for a Man to ſeparate his private Reſentments from his Publick Zeal, when his Sufferings have been all for the Publick; for that mingles them together, and he cannot poſſibly know them a ſunder, till ſuch time as theſe Common Enemies have made publick Amends for their Wrong done to the Nation, and not to him. So the great *Sampſon* when he was making his laſt Effort upon his Country's Enemies, in his very Prayer to God for extraordinary Aſſiſtance could not forbear mentioning *his own two Eyes*. I do not care for my two Eyes, God thou knoweſt it.

But ſharpneſs of Language ſignifies nothing, where there is more need of the ſeverity of Laws. For ſhall a poor Pickpocket or a Highway-man be hanged for taking away a little looſe Money, and theſe whole ſale Thieves, who ſtript a Nation of their Lives, and Liberties and Eſtates, and all they

have

have, not be look'd after? 'Tis true they have not the Mony; but if the Pick-pocket by Convey ance deliver the Mony to the Ballad singer, it will be shared at Night, by all the Rules of *Bartholomew* Fair.

I had rather have my House rob'd for once and away, then be told by pretended Churchmen, that a King has a High-way to my Coffers; and that all Persons he sends on that Errand are Irresistable: I had rather live in Prison, than have my Liberty lie at the same lay: And it is better for a Nation (though there is no need of it) to die and go off the Stage, than live a Dog's Life at any one Man's Mercy whatsoever.

I will add further, that though I have been much more conversant with Prisons than with Palaces, yet I have left me that natural Idea of Honour, that I would scorn to be the Prince of a Passive Obedience-Nation. It degrades a King, and gives him the meanest Office in the World, and the most dishonourable Employment. For whereas a Herdsman and a Muleteer are men Callings, because they only govern Cattel: So a King, because he governs a vast number of Men like himself. Brave, Wise and Free, is in the most exalted Station that is upon Earth; he is King of Kings, and and is served by Princes. But to wish they were a Venal or Servile People, is as if my Lord Mayor should choose to be Common-Hunt.

It is true, the Men that I have to deal with, may very well be of a different Mind from me as to the Constitution of this Government, because they build upon quite different Principles. They excuse themselves, for a very good Reason, from the intricate Labyrinths of Law and History, which are the Rule that I go by; and which are the Standard in this Affair, as the Gospel is of Christianity: So that we may make use of *St. Austin's* words in this Case, *Quomodo legis? ubi scriptum est?* How readest thou? Where is it writen? Shew me the written Law, make it out by approved History. Nay they have departed from the standing Rules of Right and Wrong, and the standing Revelation upon that Subject, and have betaken themselves to the Intimations of Providence, and the out-goings of the Morning and Evening, which were their Scoff the other day, when those Expressions were used in the Parliament Army. The Revolution is proved to be Right, because at *Torbay* the Wind chopped about, as if it had been in the Prince's Pay. A vowed Usurpation is made out by Success and Settlement. The wicked Design of Conquering and Enslaving this Kingdom is Hallowed by Providence, and made to be Divine Promotion; and the Wreck of a whole Nation is proved to be God's Goods.

To deny God's Providence, is to shut him out of his own World; but to ascribe wicked Actions to the Divine Providence, is the greater Injurie of the two. For the English of Gods Providence is, *As God would have it*: Now when this is applied to Usurpation, which is Robbery and Wrong in the Highest degree; and to the Conquest and enslaving of a Free Nation, which is the most outragious Oppression, to say that these are by Gods Providence, is to say, that Robbery is as God would have it. But this all the World knows is contrary to Gods known and revealed Will: and therefore

fore as the Atheists deny God, so these Men make him to deny Himself. I hope I shall ever adore Gods Providence whilst I live, and do it with more Understanding when I am Dead, and therefore I shall be sorry to see the greatest Injustice in the World fathered upon it. That Usurpation or Conquest, or any other wicked thing, or by Gods Providence, I absolutely deny; but that they are by Divine Permission, and may use the Stile of Bishops, that I allow. Is it not enough to prostitute Pulpits to the mischievous Flattery of Passive Obedience, (which were made for publishing the Everlasting Gospel of Christ, and nothing else) but they must slander Providence too? but the best of it is, that these Interpreters of Providence (who would fain have the bestowing of Crowns and Titles, when it is the Peoples Gift; and the rectifying of *Westminster-Hall* Law, by their own wry Pulpit-Law; and the direction of all Publick Affairs, by handling a Text pick'd out of a private place in the Psalms) are easily overthrown in the very Ground work of their Judicial Astrology.

For the Disposed of all things is attributed to God in Scripture, as well as Promotion; and if this Promotion be attained by wrongful and wicked Means, such as Usurping, Conquering and Enslaving a Nation, plainly are it is Blasphemy to ascribe this ill gotten Promotion to God. For instance, *Prov.* 16. 33 *The Lot is cast into the Lap: but the whole Disposing thereof is of the Lord.* Now, I say, to apply this Text to a foul throw and cogging the Dice is Blasphemy: and to say that God has disposed and transferred the hundred Pound Stake to this false Gamester, and that now he has a Divine Right to it, is repeated Blasphemy.

The Bible is a Miscellaneous Book, where dishonest and time-serving Men may ever, in their loose way, find a Text for their purpose. I could give so many Instances of this in the late Times, as would be hateful and tedious. But this I say, that Eternal Righteousness, Justice and Truth, Upright Honesty, the Right of the Case, and the Reason of the Thing, must always govern the Sense of Scriptural Expressions. For Justice and Righteousness are the same in Heaven as they are upon Earth; and if the Notion of it were not the same in both Places, it were vain to tell us that God is Just and Righteous, for we could not tell what that means, and more vain to bid us be like him in those Divine Perfections, if we did not know them when we see them.

But if there were never a Passive-Obedience-Man left in *England*, which I hope to see; yet false Titles are of dangerous Consequence. If we are a Conquered and Enslaved People, (as the Simoniacal Parson said by his bought preferments) we came honestly by it, for we paid the Penny for it. The Hollanders have had Six hundred Thousand pounds for it, besides great Sums which cannot yet be placed to Account.

Now I am of Opinion that these are dangerous matters; for the Dutch are Merchants. We shall have Conquests and Titles bought and Sold and trumpt upon us, perhaps sooner perhaps 500 Years hence. For not to mention *Danegelt*, after the Restoration of the Saxons in *Edward* the Confessor and *Harold*, and after the Succession of five Norman Kings, in *Richard* the First's Time *Philip* of *France* demanded the Sister of the King

King of *Denmark* with no other Dower, than the Daniſh Right to *England*, and the Aſſiſtance of a Fleet and an Army for one Year, which the Danes not complying with, for fear of the Vandals on one hand, and the Engliſh Courage on the other, *Philip* at laſt took her with a Dower of 10000 Marks, which was I believe the better Bargain. But as the Hiſtorian ſays, he therein deſigned a Bloody Buſineſs for the Realm of *England*. Gerval. Chron. p. 1244. *Molitus eſt Regno Angliæ cruentum negotium.* Knyghton, p 2406.

It *Philip* had ſucceeded in his Bloody Buſineſs, we have falſe Prophets now adays that would have hallowed it, and made a Divine Right of it, in
P. 26. theſe following words. 'And therefore it is that God, though he has infinite ways,
Rom: 'yet commonly chuſes to employ Men in this Service. He either finds them at home that
13. 3. 'are not afraid of the Power as they ought to be: or he brings them in from Foreign
'Countries, (that is theſe Danes and French) Whiſtling for the Fly out of
Eſay 7.17 'Egypt, or the Bee out of the Land of *Aſſyriah*; in plain words ſtirring up
'a *Pharoah* or a *Nebuchadnezzar* againſt them.

Now in obſcure words here had been both Fly and Bee whiſtled in; but for all theſe little Interpreters of Prophecies, I am ſatisfied that our Anceſtors would have whiſtled them out

The old Popiſh Clergy were Engliſhmen, and were in at *Magna Charta*; and the Lawyers can beſt tell, whether Cathedrals they left behind them, are not ſince Forfeited, for not reading *Magna Charta* publickly to the People every year, as is enjoyned by two Acts of Parliament: for which reaſon they were each of them Intruſted with a Record of thoſe Engliſh Rights; I do not now ſpeak of that Charter's being continually preached down. I love the Memory of that Abbot of *St. Albans* in *William* the Norman Duke's Time, who not being ſatisfied with this Title, when he was marching his Army towards that Place, fell'd all the Trees croſs the Road, and laid Blocks in his way, and haraſſed all his Army. And when the Duke askt him, why he did ſo? he anſwered, becauſe he knew of no Buſineſs the Norman had there; and if all honeſt Engliſhmen had done the ſame, he had never come ſo far as *St. Albans* to ask him that Queſtion. I admire the preſence of the Prior of *Clerkenwell*, in the time of *Hen.* the 3d. as I take it, (it is in Hiſtory) when in a Diſpute about a Point of Right the King meant to overawe him, by ſaying, in King *James*'s way to *Magdalen College* Men, Am not I your King? yes, ſays he, while you govern according to Law, but no longer. I hate Popery, but I love Relicks.

I know whome I have ſpoke to all this while in this tedious Addreſs; You are my Country, and therefore I ſubmit it wholly to your great Wiſdom; and if you diſlike any thing in it, I wiſh it unſaid: Only I will abide by this, in which I can be poſitive, that I intend it intirely for his Majeſties and my Country's Service in Conjunction; and the that talks of their having a Separate Intereſt, ought rather to be made an Example than a Secretary. But I humbly take my leave; You Repreſent the Body of the Brave Engliſh Nation, you have my Prayers, and long ſince had my Heart.

AN

THE ARGUMENT.

IN this ensuing Argument, which will be very short, I have but these two Points to clear;

The one Fact.
The other of Right,

First, That *the People of* England *did actually Abrogate or Dethrone King* James *the Second for Misgovernment, and promoted the Prince of* Orange *in his stead.*

Secondly, That *this Proceeding of theirs, was according to the English Constitution, and prescribed by it.*

First, This Matter of Fact being so fresh in our Memory, needs not to be so industriously proved. The Act 1st. *William* and *Mary*, declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and settling the Succession of the Crown, recites the very Instrument of Conveyance of the Crown to the Prince and Princess; which begins in these words: *Whereas the late King* James *the Second, by the Assistance of divers Evil Councellors, Judges, and Ministers employed by him, did endeavour to Subvert and Extirpate the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom*: which in these main Out-lines, by an enumeration of Sundry Particulars. And not long after there are these words: *And whereas the late King* James *the Second, having Abdicated the Government, and the Throne being thereby Vacant*, the two Houses of Parliament do thereupon invest the Prince and Princess of *Orange* with the Crown.

King *James endeavoured to subvert the Government*, as they favourably word it; or rather, he had long before wholly subverted and overthrown the Government, as the Prince of *Orange's* Declaration speaks, (which this very Act has annex'd, and made parcel of the Crown, and expresses to be the only Meanes of Redressing that Mischief).

There is but one doubtful Word in all that I have recited, which some People make a hard Word; and that is, King *James's Abdicating* the Government; which no Man would stumble at, who had read *Tully* in his third *Philippick*, who says thus concerning *Mark Anthony*, that for his offering a Crown to *Cæsar*, 'Eo dei non modo Consultatu 'sed etiam Libertate se *Abdicavit*, esset enim ipsi certè statim servien-'dum, si Cæsar ab eo Regni insigne accipere voluisset. At that time he 'not only *Abdicated* his Consulship, but his Liberty; for if *Cæsar* 'would have accepted the Crown, *Mark Anthony* must presently have 'turned Slave. Now *Mark Anthony* by this Action did not expressly renounce his Consulship or Liberty, or run away from both of them, but he did that which was inconsistent with them both, HE FORFEITED THEM BOTH; which is the true import of that Phrase.

The second thing is the Point of Right; That *this Proceeding of the People of* England *was agreeable to the English Constitution, and prescribed by it.*

To make this out, I need only recite the Declaration of the Lords and Commons, 10th *Rich.* 2. in their Message to the King then at *Eltham* Rymer, pag. 2683.

Domine Rex.

SET & unum aliud de nuncio nostro superest Nobis ex parte Populi vestri Vobis intimare. Habent enim ex antiquo Statuto & de facto non longe retroactis temporibus experienter quod dolendum est habito, Si Rex maligno consilio quocunque, vel incepta contumacia aut contemtu, seu proterva voluntate singulari, aut quovis modo irregulari, se alienaverit a Populo suo, nec voluerit per Jura Regni & Statuta

&

& laudabiles Ordinationes, cum ſalubri Conſilio Dominorum & Procerum Regni gubernari & regulari; ſet capitoſe in ſuis inſanis Conſiliis propriam voluntatem ſuam ſingularem proterve exercere; *Ex tunc licitum eſt eis cum Communi aſſenſu & conſenſu Populi Regni, ipſum Regem de regali Solio abrogare,* ET PROPINQUIOREM ALIQUEM DE STIRPE REGIA, LOCO EJUS IN REGNI SOLIO SUBLIMARE.

Our Lord the King----

BUT there is moreover one part of our Meſſage ſtill left to acquaint you withall, in the Name of your People. They have it by ancient Statute, and by a late doleful Inſtance, that in caſe the King ſhall alienate himſelf from his People by any bad Advice whatſoever, or foolish Contumacy or Contempt, or Self-will, or any other irregular way; and will not be govern'd and ruled by the Laws, Statutes and laudable Ordinances of the Realm, with the wholeſom Advice of the Lords and Peers of the Realm; but in a Head-ſtrong way will exerciſe his own Self-will; From thence-forward it is lawful for them with the common Aſſent and Conſent of the People of the Realm, to Depoſe the King from the Regal Throne, and to promote ſome Kinſman of his of the Royal Family, to the Throne of the Kingdom in his ſtead.

Here the Parliament laid down the Law before the King, and gave him fair Warning thirteen Years before they thought of putting it in Execution; for this was in the Tenth of his Reign, and he Reigned three and twenty Years. And as for the Statute they quote, it muſt needs be a very ancient Statute, becauſe the Depoſing of *Edw.* 2d. (who was his Great-Grandfather) in compariſon of that, is repreſented but as of Yeſterday.

This Declaration of the Lords and Commons, the King could not gain-ſay; and they gained their Point upon him by it, to bring him to Parliament. And it is not to be believed that the Parliament of *England* would affirm they had ſuch an Ancient Statute when they had not. It remains therefore to conſider how we come by this Record, ſeeing it is not upon the Rolls in the *Tower*: but 'tis no ſtrange thing it ſhould not be there, becauſe it is the four and twentieth Article in the Charge againſt *Richard* the Second, afterwards in the three and twentieth Year of his Reign; 'Et præterea Rotulos Recordorum Statum & 'gubernationem Regni ſui tangentium, prædictus Rex deleri & abradi 'fecit in magnum præjudicium Populi, & exhæredationem Coronæ Reg- 'ni prædicti, & ut veriſimiliter creditur in favorem & ſuſtentationem 'ſui mali Regiminis. And beſides the ſaid King cauſed the Rolls of the Re- 'cords, touching the State and Government of this Realm, to be defac'd 'and razed, to the great prejudice of his People, and diſheriſon of the 'Crown of the ſaid Realm; and as is credibly thought, in favour and 'ſupport of his Male-Adminiſtration,

The only means left us in ſuch a Caſe, where the Records of the *Tower* fail us, is to have recourſe to the undoubted Hiſtory of that Age, which was Written upon the Spot: Such is *Knighton*'s Authority, whoſe Hiſtory was both Written, and Finiſhed, and Cloſed up in that very Reign.

And though this ſhould be Scar-Crow Doctrine to the Paſſive Obedience-Men, yet is the Tenor of all Antiquity; It is the Doctrine of *the Mirror* in very many places. It is the Doctrine of the Seventeenth Chapter of King *Edward the Confeſſor*'s Laws. It is the Senſe of King *Alfred*'s Stile, *Deigratia & benevolentia Weſt-Saxonicæ Gentis. That he was King by the Favour of God, and the Good-Will of the Engliſh Nation.* It is the Doctrine of great Lawyers ſince the Norman Times; as particularly *Bracton*: 'Rex autem habet Superiorem Deum; Item Legem, per 'quam factus eſt Rex; Item Curiam ſuam; videlicet, Comites, Ba- 'rones, qui Comites dicuntur quaſi Socii Regis; & qui habet Socium, 'habet Magiſtrum, & ideo ſi Rex fuerit ſine fræno, i. e. ſine Lege, de- 'bent ei fræna ponere, niſi ipſi metuerint cum Rege ſine fræno, & tunc 'clamabunt ſubditi & dicent, Domine Ieſu Chriſte in chamo & fræno 'maxillas

'maxillas eorum constringe, ad quos Dominos, vocabo super eos gentem 'robustum & longinquam & ignotam, cujus linguam ignorabunt, quæ 'destruet eos, & evellet radices eorum de terra, & a tallibus judicabuntur, 'quia subditos noluerunt juste judicare. & in fine, ligatis Manibus & Pe-'dibus eorum, mittet eos in caminum ignis & tenebras exteriores, ubi 'erit fletus & stridor dentium. *Bracton. Lib. 2. cap. 16. Sect. 3.*

'The King hath three Superiors, God, and the Law, by which he is 'made King; and his Court, namely the Earls and Barons, because they 'are called *Comitees*, as being the Companions of the King; and he that 'hath a Companion, hath a Master: and therefore if the King shall be 'unbridled, that is Lawless, they ought to bridle him, unless they them-'selves with their King shall be unbridled and lawless too; and then the 'Subject shall cry out and say, Lord Jesus Christ, hold in their Jaws with 'Bit and Bridle: to whom the Lord shall say, I will bring in upon them 'a Robustious and Foreign and unknown Nation, whose Language they 'shall not understand: Which Nation shall destroy them, and shall pluck 'up the Roots of them from the Earth; and by such they themselves shall 'be judged, because they would not justly judg the English Subjects. And 'in Conclusion, being bound Hand and Foot, the Lord shall throw them 'into a Furnace of Fire, and outer Darkness, where there shall be weep-'ing and gnashing of Teeth.

So that if the Parliament of *England* neglect to do their Duty in this Case, in not restraining their King from Lawless and Arbitrary Courses, They do it at their utmost Peril; for they are threatned with Destruction for it in this World, and will dearly answer it in the next.

I have here quoted a knocking Sentence of a Lord Chief Justice of *England* in the Time of *Henry* the Third, four hundred and fifty Years ago, whose Authority hath been so far valued by both sides, as to be strove for. The *Prerogative Men* quote such sayings as these; *Rex non habet Parem in Regno suo; quia Par in Parem, non habet Imperium. Nemo de factis ejus præsumat disputare; multo magis contra Factum ejus ire.* And in the very Context of the former large Quotation, *Item nec factum Regis nec Chartam potest nec judicare, ita quod factum Domini Regis irretetur.* Now these and the like Sayings, which are often to be met with in *Bracton*, are to be understood concerning the ordinary Administration of Justice, and to limit the Transcendent Power of Parliaments which he has so fully display'd in this place; and his Rule in other places, where there is a new Case, or any thing too weighty for the Judges, is this, *Respectietur ad Magnum Cariam*, which is the Key of *Bracton*'s whole Book.

This Doctrine is agreeable to *Fortescue*, who says, That the *People are the Fountain of Power*, in that Expression, *Rex à Populo Potestatem Effluxam habet*:

habet. And in another place he says, *That an Arbitrary Power to Oppress the Subjects, could not proceed from the People themselves; and yet if it had not been from themselves, such a King as the King of* England *could have no manner of Power at all over them:* For the truth of it is, it is a Contradiction to deny, that all Civil Power is Originally in the People: For what is Civil Power in English, but the Citys Power, and derived from the Community? And this either limited, or enlarged, as they please. *The Intention of the People* (as *Fortescue* tells us) *is the Hearts Blood of the Government, and is the* Primum Vividum *in the Body Politick, as the Heart is in the Body Natural.* And it is impossible to be otherwise; The Nation must make their King, for I am sure the King cannot make the Nation. And as Sir *William Temple* very well observes, *The Basis of Government is the People,* though the King be at the Top of it; and to found the Government upon a King, is to invert the Pyramid, and set it upon the Pinacle, where it will never stand.

This Doctrine is agreeable to the *Original Contract,* which in the *Mirror of Justice,* fol. 8. upon the Election of the First English Monarch, which Contract is still continued in the *Coronation Oath* and the *Oath of Allegiance*: Which *Oath of Allegiance* doth depend upon the King's taking the *Coronation Oath* first, which was ever practised till the Reign of *Henry* the Fifth, to whom Homage and Allegiance was sworn before he was Crown'd; which was a singular Courtesie, and done on presumption of the Goodness of his future Reign.

I might speak of the *Curtana* Sword; the Power of the Lord High-Steward, and other great Officers of the Kingdom, and draw all the Lines of the Government to this Center: But I have been heretofore forc'd to destroy all the Reading of my whole Life with my own hands, and have not since had Health enough to retrieve it; and now a late Calamity hath fallen upon me that I can do nothing.

Only I must answer one Objection, and that is, That our *Ancient Statute* is not practicable: for the King having the Prerogative of Calling and Dissolving Parliaments, will never assemble them, nor suffer them to sit for such a purpose. But such an Objection as this betrays great Ignorance of the Constitution of English Parliaments. We will allow that the King hath a Prerogative of Calling Parliaments, but hath no Prerogative of Not Calling them: For not to mention our Right of having *Stationary Parliaments,* not only *Annual* but, *Anniversary,* which sat down constantly at the Calends of *May,* as appears by the Laws of *William* the First, It is plain likewise, that they were not dissolvable at Pleasure; but that even as low as *Henry* the Fourths Time, Proclamation used to be made to know whether there were any Petitions that were to be answer'd in Parliament. The first Abusion of Law, as the *Mirror* tells us, is for the King to be above Law, to which he ought to be Suject, as is contained in his Oath.

Oath. And the ſecod Abuſion of the Law, next to this Firſt and Sovereign Abuſion, is for Parliaments to be *a la Volunt d' Roy*, at the Kings Pleaſure.

One of the Ancienteſt Remains that we have concerning the *Engliſh Parliaments*, is in *the Mirror*; where he ſays, in King *Alfreds* Time, it was made for a perpetual Law, that the Countries of *England* ſhould aſſemble themſelves twice a Year (*en Temps d' Paix*, in Time of Peace) at *London*, *pour Parlimenter*, to hould Parliament. Now I conceive that theſe words (*in Time of Peace*) do let us into the Reaſon why this perpetual Law hath been broken, and how it comes to paſs that Parliaments could not be punctual either as to Time or Place; for we had many Wars and Invaſions after that Time, and the *Danes* had the Poſſeſſion of *London*; and conſequently it was impoſſible for them to meet there, or indeed to keep their Times of meeting any where elſe: whereupon there was a Neceſſity for the King to aſſemble them, when and where they could meet in ſafety; from whence aroſe the *Prerogative* (as I believe) of Calling Parliaments; which if a Prince uſes Honeſtly, is rather a trouble to him than any thing elſe.

If any Perſon ſhall vouchſafe to give an Anſwer to any thing I have here ſaid, I deſire him to do it fairly, by ſetting his Name to it, as I have done; for I hate to have my Books Anſwer'd (as they lately were) in a *Midnight Vizor-Maſque*.

FINIS.